* 539 /349 cont./

Then Miriápura Turíkaro returned to Bejsebowí /sic/. He left Bajsebowí again and went toward Moawí. Moawí is two days from Mitú, going down the Vaupés River. In Moawí they were on the eve of holding a Dabukurí (18) of Moá (19).

[527] [431]

18. A ceremonial fiesta during which presents are exchanged.

[263] [824]

19. Salt obtained by boiling the carurú plant.

There was much joy in Moawí. Miriápura Turíkaro entered Moawí and remained there listening a while to what the Moá Majsá people were saying. In this maloca there were some single and married women sweeping the maloca of Moawí and they were speaking of the death of the younger son of Miriápura Turíkaro. And one woman said: "The younger son of Miriápura Turíkaro made love to the woman of the older son of Miriápura Turíkaro. The older son, in revenge, cut off his penis and killed him." Then another woman said: "How bad the Bajsébo Majsá must be if there is killing between brothers! What a pity, what a pity, what a pity." Then another woman said: "Do you know if the older brother buried his younger brother?" Then another woman answered: "He has not buried him. He only made a coffin of Imisa switches and above the port he made a little table, put the coffin on top of this table, and covered it with some leaves." And another woman said: "What a pity, what a pity, what a pity." Then Miriápura Turíkaro became frightened and returned immediately to Bajsebowí. He entered through one door of the maloca and left through the other and went directly to the port. From the port he took the trail to where the little table was and found the coffin on top of the little table. He lowered the coffin and opened it. Inside the coffin was the younger son of Miriápura Turíkaro. The younger son was really dead, but for Miriápura Turíkaro his /350/ younger son was only uncons[illegible]us. Then Miriápura Turíkaro thought that he could revive him. Then Miriápura Turíkaro blew tobacco smoke over his younger son, and the younger son returned to life. Then

342 /102 cont./
There is a front door as well as a back one, which are closed
• [824] at night by means of doors of plaited straw or by blinds or by slatted shutters made of bamboo slats. Besides the materials mentioned, palms are used for roofing, round logs to set up the construction, twigs for interweaving, and vines for lashing.

592 The size of the maloca varies according to the number of
342 its occupants. Nevertheless, the small maloca constructed to
[162] shelter one nuclear family alone is very rare. A typical Tukano maloca is sufficiently large to accommodate an extended family; at present these are composed of approximately 25 or 30 individuals. For a family of this size, a maloca 20 meters long by 5 meters wide is sufficient. Inside, the maloca is divided into small compartments, each of which is occupied by a nuclear family.

361 The Tukano Indians do not usually live in settlements
596 /Spanish caseríos/. The usual thing is to see a single large maloca occupied by an extended family, and generally there is a stretch between one maloca and another that is enough for half a day of navigation by rowing. Nevertheless, settlements exist, in which, instead of having one enormous maloca to shelter the extended family, several small malocas /103/ accommodate one or two nuclear families, but the total of the malocas that form the settlement always constitute one extended family.

291 Formerly, before the arrival of the Missionaries and the rubber workers in the region, the Tukano man used as his only daily
[287] clothing the guayuco, or loincloth, while the woman wore only a skirt that covered the body from the waist to the knees. Both articles, the loincloth as well as the skirt, were made from pressed tree bark. Neither sex went around shod.

291 The arrival of the Missionary and the rubber worker in the
177 Tukano territory brought as a result the introduction of occidental
797 clothing. The modesty inculcated by the Missionaries and the protection from insects offered by clothing have contributed enormously to the rapid acceptance of trousers, the shirt, and the

/103 cont./

291 feminine dress by the Tukano Indians. Nevertheless, it is still
177 possible to encounter Tukano Indians, male and female, who
797 reject occidental clothing, and this occurs primarily among persons of advanced age and in general among natives who reside quite far from any religious Mission.

527 For special feasts, such as the Dabukurí, ornaments of
302 brightly colored feathers are used by the men. For these feasts
[301] both men and women paint the face, the body, and the extremi-
•[824] ties with carayurú, which is a pigment obtained by the fermentation of the leaves of Bignonia chica or by boiling the water in which these leaves have been soaked.

527 In the decoration of the skin by means of pigments for the
302 feast of Dabukurí, it is always the woman who applies the paint
571 to the man, besides dressing him with his garb of feathers. If the man is married, it is his only wife or the principal wife, in case he has several, who assists him. In the case of a single man, any woman of the community does this work, and the single man contracts with this woman the same obligations and the same rights that a compadre has toward his comadre in the Colombian
302 Creole culture. Besides painting the skin for occasions as
[751] esteemed as the feast of the Dabukurí, the daily painting of the
[413] face is common. In this case, the function of the pigment is simply aesthetic or for protection from the sun. In the decoration of the body and the extremities, /104/ cylindrical wooden pintaderas, which imprint geometric decorations, are used.

301 Another decoration used by Tukano women and girls is the
177 necklace of glass beads acquired from the rubber workers by means of barter, and there are also necklaces of mammal teeth obtained as a by-product of hunting and silver necklaces made from the coins that they get from the Creoles settled in the region.

105 The subject of social and political organization, as well as the life cycle, will be dealt with extensively at another time. For the moment it suffices to say quickly that the Tukano Indians have patrilineal extended families, they have patrilocal residence, they practice polyandry, marriage is carried out by means of

/9 cont./

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/footnote 1 cont./ the river (cf. below, Note 5, Ch. II /see note 8, Ch. II, p. 40/).

This belief has also been adopted today on the Rio Negro. We do not know, however, if it is based on the opinion of Stradelli, or if he gave rise to it. At the end of the nineteenth century, with Stradelli, the name Uaupés is presented to us as a corruption of the original word Buapé. Around the middle of the eighteenth century, however, Uaupé would be the original form from which, through corruption, the term Goaupé originated, and no mention is made of the Tuxáua by the name of Buapé, the memory of whom, if he existed, should have been more vivid at that time. Who is right? /The footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./

Which language would the name Uaupés belong to? And what does it mean? The present-day natives do not know how to answer that, nor did those of half a century ago. As a matter of fact, Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 131) says only that the name is depreciative; this, however, because under the name of Uaupés are included tribes that are ignorant, wild (Wildstaemme), and scorned, such as the Tukano /Tucano/ and the Kubewãna, who fought against the more advanced Arwake /Arawak/.

In Stradelli's Nheengatú-Portuguese vocabulary, we find the remark: "Iasaná" -- Breed of the Afflicted /Port. Casta das Rallidas/. Name that on the lower Amazon and on the Grão-Pará is given to Parra Iaçaná, which on the Solimões is called Piasóca -- and on the Rio Negro, Uaupé and Uapé.

The river in turn lent the name to a plant characteristic of the stones of its cachoeiras /rapids; see note 2, p. 9/. As a matter of fact, it is called uaupé or uaupé-da-cachoeira (and also carurú-das-pedras /carurú of the stones/ and murera-das-cachoeiras), an aquatic plant that grows on the stones of the cachoeiras of this river and that furthermore serves the Indians for the extraction of salt (cf. Note 51

[824]
[263]

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[824]
[263]

/9 cont./

/footnote 1 cont./ /see note 52, p. 320/, VI). (Cf. Gastão Cruls, Hileia Amazônica -- C. E. N., 1944 -- p. 35.)

The name Ucaiari (as is usual for the ones that end in ri or li) is of Arwake origin. In the language of the Arara-tapuya and the Kadáu-puritãna, the Uaupés River is called Ukayalí; in the Huhúdeni /Huhuteni/ it is called Ukávari (all three are of the Arwake group). It might perhaps be derived from U(ni), water river, and Kawale (in Kadáu-puritãna) or Kawáeri (in Hihúdeni /sic/), wind. Nevertheless, none of the old people of the various Arwake tribes of the Içana and Aiarí rivers whom we could consult were able to indicate the meaning of the term Caiarí or Ucaiari. Just as the other tribes who inhabit the Uaupés did not know it either. All of them designate the Uaupés as "Dya Poxsá," river of the Makú (?). This designation might induce one to think that the Makú (Puxsá /sic/) were the first to inhabit its shores, and afterwards, under pressure from the Arwake and Tukano invaders, went to settle in the interior, in the adjacent forests, from the environs of S. Gabriel as far as the cachoeiras of Jandú and Carurú (on the Uaupés River). The truth is that, according to the spirit of the language, River of the Makú should be translated as "Poxsá Dyá" and not as "Dyá Poxsá."

as it was known up to a few years ago, a tributary that flows into the Rio Negro about 50 kilometers above the town of S. Gabriel-da-Cachoeira, now called Uaupés.

133 The Uaupés results, according to Dr. Hamilton Rice, from the union of the rivers Unilla, which is the more important, and Itilla, both with their origins in the plains that border the buttresses of the Colombian Andes. After a course of about 330 kilometers in Colombian territory, the Uaupés advances in the

/180 cont./

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They call the vessels of flatter shape baxpá, such as porringers or plates of different sizes, some quite small, baxpáryakã, used as spoons, which they do not know.

All these vessels are manufactured with the clay called dyí (Nh. tuyuka), which is found in compact strata, blue or dark green in color, in certain places, especially on the banks or in the bed of the watercourses. The clay is extracted with the help of splinters of wood, in fine layers, and is kept in humid places and well covered with leaves.

For the manufacture of the vessels the woman kneads the clay very well, with the addition of ewõ (ocher), and for each five parts of mud, one of ashes of caripé bark (13),

• [824]

13. Trees of several species of the family of the Rosaceae (Licánia útilis and licánia myristicóides, Benthe., licánia scraba, Hook). Their ashes will give a certain porosity to the vessel and not let the clay crack.

reduced to powder and sifted. The mass is left to rest for a few days.

There is no mold whatsoever to facilitate the manufacturing; nevertheless, the vessels come out quite regular and well proportioned. Once the mud is prepared in the shape of a rope, torõrĩ-da (Uaupés tonõnĩ-da and toninĩ-da), of half a meter, starting from the bottom, then, with these ropes of clay, the woman starts raising the edges, pressing one rope on another and smoothing it well. Afterwards, with a piece of cuia /gourd/, wahá-pe'toró (Nh. peruta), she starts polishing and smoothing it better, inside and out. Once the vessel is made, it is left to dry in the shade, and when it has acquired a certain consistency, it is smoothed well, until it becomes glossy, using a round pebble, which they call wa'té-khá.

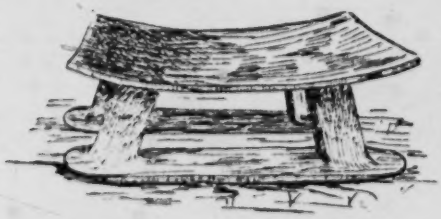
/186 cont./

415 252 The woman, as she grates, will do it with the two hands alternately, and not in a uniform rhythm, but with sudden pulls that cause movement of her very breasts. She will be seated on the ground, having between /187/ her legs the grater, the head [462] of which they support against the stomach. It is exclusively women's work.

The grater is such an useful object that on the lower Rio Negro the civilized adopted it as well as the tipití (VI -- 2, d (1)).

192 352 4) Seat. The seat, in Tukano kũ-mũ-rõ (Uaupés kũmũ-no), is in general use, although its specialized producers are the Tukano. It is generally made out of sorva or arara-seringa (Cõuma guianensis, Muell.), a not very heavy wood which hardly cracks.

They formerly made it with the help of their primitive adze. Today, instead of the syó-a, they use a digging iron or even an adze obtained from the civilized.



Little monoxylic seat (ku-mũ-rõ)

The dimensions are the most varied, some of only 30 to 40 centimeters and others of 120 to 150 centimeters. The style, however, is constant, to wit, the seating place is concave, with a double curvature in the longitudinal and transverse directions. It is always low, only 10 to 15 centimeters in height, with four legs connected by two longitudinal crossbars. And the seat, with the supports, is monoxylic, that is, made from one piece of wood.

[531] [824] They are accustomed to decorating the seat with the traditional designs, and over it something like a varnish, obtained from the sap of the bark of a wild inga tree, mẽ'rẽ (Uaupés mẽ'nẽ).

/189 cont./

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c) Spinning and woven products.

1) Preparation of the thread.

The tribes of the Uaupés do not know cotton (22)

22. It seems that the ancient tribes of the banks of the Amazon cultivated cotton. Actually, Pe. Alonso de Rojas (voyage of 1637 -- cf. "Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," p. 116) tells: "the building of ships is greatly facilitated in these mountains (?), not only because of the abundance of wood and pitch, but also, because of the large amount of cotton that is harvested, there is a great abundance of stalks from which the pita /fiber/ (?) is made, and palm trees with which one can make shrouds as strong as those of canvas." Unless by cotton he meant kapok.

and prepare their thread with palm fibers, especially of neé (miritĩ or buritĩ, Maurítia flexuósa and vinífera) and of yõxká pũrĩ (tucum, astrocaryum tucumoides), the fibers of this being more resistant and durable.

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One gathers the still new leaves from the tucum, or better the sprout of greenish-yellow color, before it opens. Two bunches of fibers about 30 to 40 centimeters in length are separated from each leaflet. After being washed in natural water, they are exposed to the sun in order to dry and bleach.

/190/ The process of carding is done with the help of the "ouriço" /prickly part/ of the piquiá (caryócar villosum, Aubl.), ehyú-pu, in order "to comb," wõhõá-pe, the fibers, making the thread quite fine. One thus has the raw tucum, yõxká pũrĩ põrá (Uaupés yõxká pũnĩ põná).

/194 cont./

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531 In woven work as well as in plaited work they combine elements of various colors, producing very regular and pleasant designs. Due to their regularity and finish, some of their work almost reaches perfection.

*192 d) Basketry and plaited work.

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[462]
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[227] For their basketry -- and all this work is executed by men -- the raw material is more varied. They use embira or the liber of some trees, especially that which they call pi'ĩ-karõ-gõ. They use palms, with a simple plaiting of the leaflets, on the walls of the homes and, more rarely, also on the ceilings. They use strips of paxiúba (waxtá), patauá (yumũ), and jacitára (wai-tu, a palm of sarmentose and aerial caulis) for mats (i'mĩ-sa) and fish enclosures (sũxteri-ka). It is with the uambé cipo (mĩ'sĩ) that they manufacture the baskets called aturás and the nassas for fishing. But it is especially the arumã (wõhõ), reduced to strips (wõhõ-phĩ), that they use the most, because with them they prepare baskets, sieves, and the tipití /manioc press/.

• [824] The arumã (Schinosiphon /Ischnosiphon/ ovatus, Kckes., of the family of the Marantaceae) is a plant of "terra firma," but humid, with wide leaves, /195/ the stalk of which may exceed two meters. From it are separated strips, which, after
[386]
[531] being dried, acquire the yellowish color of our chair cane. When they want to execute their designs, the natives dye the little straws with their vegetable dyes. Sometimes they are colored on only one side, for example, for the designs on the inside of the sieves.

According to the purpose, the width of the meshes and the shape will vary.

For the plaiting, they make the straws quite even; they put them in good order on the ground (or on a mat), and, squatting, steadying them with the feet, they begin to plait with transverse colored or uncolored splints, according to the designs that they intend to make.

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The bow, bõé-ka-tẽ or bõé-kha-thẽ, is generally made out of pau-de-arco, in Tukano toxtó-gõ (Bignoniaceae with a purple flower, species of Tecoma), heavy wood, resistant and flexible. The normal dimensions are from 1.5 to 2 meters in length and a diameter of about 3 centimeters in the central part, tapering toward the ends, with a small incision or notch for tying the string. The outside part is roundish or convex, and the inside part, slightly hollowed or concave.

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As a string they use tucum fiber, and the bow is generally kept straight, that is, unstrung, with the string tied at only one end. /200/ It is bent only when it is going to be used. It is a weapon of precision in the hands of the Indian, being capable of projecting the arrows to about 50 or 60 meters away.

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3) Sarabatana /blowgun/. It is exclusively a Makú weapon in origin and production, and one which the latter prepare for the Indians of other tribes of the Uaupés whom they serve. It is prepared with a variety of noded palm, the paxiubinha, called in Tukano buxpú, hence the name of buxpú-wõ for the sarabatana. It measures about 4 centimeters in diameter and up to 3 or 4 meters in length. They extract its pith easily with a very uniform stick, resulting in a well-calibrated orifice, like the bore of guns, but smooth. Externally, more or less around the middle of the tube, they fasten a curved tooth of a cotia /agouti/ or other animal, in order to serve as the "sight."

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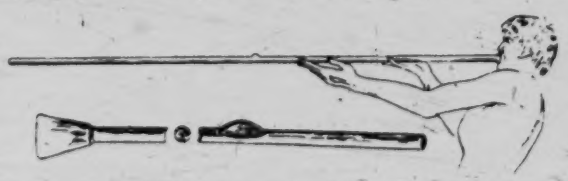

Sarabatana (buxpú-wõ)

In the part that is fitted to the mouth, a small cavity is widened as a mouthpiece to facilitate fitting it to the lips. Through this mouthpiece is introduced a small dart, bu'sá-khá, with a wad of paixa /kapok/ of sumaúma (Eriodéndron Sumauma,

M /200 cont./
411 or Cêiba petándra, Gartn.), with the double role of plugging the orifice, and thus offering resistance to the blowing, and also to give weight to the end of the dart and not permit it to swerve in the air. With a short and strong puff they manage to propel the
M dart 20 or more meters with great precision, especially in the
[224] vertical direction. It is a very useful weapon, because it is easy and quick in handling, and, besides, the dart does not make any noise, and thus they manage to kill a bird in the top of the trees, without making the ones that are close to it fly away.

It is a weapon for the minor hunting of birds, monkeys, etc.

T 4) Arrows. They are usually made out of paxiúba (Eriártea
411 settígera, Mart.), and with the help of a string and pitch the
T point is firmly fitted to it. The form and sustance will vary accord-
[237] ing to its purpose. There are points of paxiúba, bamboo, the
• [824] teeth of jaguar or /201/ of fish, and thorns of pataúá (30).

T
[184]

30. Those of paxiúba, used by the Indians of the Caburí River, are equipped with three or four artificial knots, in order for them to break and remain buried in the body. They ordinarily exhibit beautiful and colorful feathering.

T
[177] From the civilized they obtain nails or pieces of iron, from which now come the metallic points.

T Some arrows are decorated with toucan and arara feathers.
[531] The feathering is found in a row /Port. cavalete/ or in a spiral.

T When they are intended for hunting or fishing, they are often
[224] poisoned with curare (31).

31. The poison is neutralized by the fire, when the food is prepared, or by the kitchen salt, which should be administered to anyone poisoned by the "curare."

They place the poison a few millimeters below the point, in order that a casual scratch will not poison some person.

/205 cont./

*192 415 • 824 4) Cuias and calabashes. Moreover they use cuias (wahá-ro) and calabashes (ʃaxsɨ̃), or ʃaɨ̃, ña'sɨ̃, of diverse sizes and shapes, /206/ as vessels for the most varied uses: to take water, to prepare chibé, to distribute the caapí, to store their colored powders, to manufacture the maracá (see VII -- 3, c (3)), etc.

a) The calabashes, obtained from the creeping calabash, Cucúrbita lagenária, Lin., of the Cucurbitaceae (yaxsɨ̃-ga), are used, when dried, without further work. The most important use for the calabashes is the making of the maracás and as containers for the colored powders.

*192 386 415 [824] b) The cuias, from the plant called cuieira or cuietezeira (Crescentia cuyete /cujete/, Lin., of the Bignoniaceae), are used to take water, chibé, mingau, etc. and exhibit an interior surface of lustrous black color. The woman manages this with the help of the wahá-ko (that is to say, cuia water; from wahá, cuia, and oxkó, water, liquid, juice).

Cuia (wahá-ro)

They slash the bark of the plant called wahá-ko-gõ (39),

39. Pe. João Marchesi called our attention to the natives' custom of naming a vegetable after the use that they make of it.

cumati (myrcia atramentífera, B. Rod.), which exudes a dark red liquid; or they take scrapings from it, which, left for some time in a water infusion, produce a thick dark liquid, the wahá-kó.

/206 cont./

386 415 *[192] The wahá-kó is spread in the interior part of the cuia with a brush, letting it dry afterwards. The operation is repeated a second time and more, until it reaches the thickness of approximately one millimeter. Directly afterwards urine is spread on the ground and on this area they turn upside down, on small pieces of wood, the cuias that they wish to paint. The ammonia that comes from the urine transforms the layer of wahá-kó in the interior of the cuia into a black, shiny, and quite adherent varnish.

The same result is obtained by applying mandioca leaves saturated in urine over the layer of wahá-kó.

5) Other utilitarian objects.

• 824 The Indian has known how to obtain from the nature that surrounds him many other objects and resources for his life.

We shall recall some:

*[192] [515] /207/ a) Papóque. The papóque, in Tukano pápwa-khá-sõtí, is the embira of a tree that produces foam, and they wash their heads with it, for lack of soap.

*[192] [276] b) Tauarí. Táwari, as is also said in Tukano (couratari tauarí, of the family of the Lecythidaceae), is also an embira, which unrolls into very thin and flexible sheets that are used as cigar wrappers. They are obtained from the bark by striking it with a mallet until all the ligneous part has been detached.

*[192] [415] [532] c) Bags, cueio, and masks. The tururí, in Tukano waxsó-gõ, is a tree of several species of Manicariao, from whose liber or bast they prepare the bags for the ipadú, the masks (see VII -- 3, d (2)), and the waxsó-ro (in Nheengatú cueio) for dances (cf. loincloth, VII -- 3, d (2)). Once the branch or trunk that suits them is chosen, they cut it and start to beat the bark with a wooden mallet until /in the original source the line of type that follows these words is the duplicate of one that properly appears later in the paragraph, while the line that belongs here is missing/ as if it were a shirt sleeve or a cape. With a cutting object (formerly a taquara /a bamboo/) they detach the part that they want. The

/207 cont./

• 824 liber that is thus obtained, if from a thick trunk, is used to prepare the masks; if from a small branch, tied at one of the ends, it presents the shape of a bag for their various uses.

We observed another process among the Karapanã of the headwaters of the Papurí. With the help of a spatula they detach the bark, as though they were rolling up the sleeve of a coat, until it reaches the length that is desired.

6) Toys and games.

524 We did not find characteristic objects of play for the girls, such as the dolls of the civilized. In any case, from an early age the children of the female sex are put to work, and they do not have much time for toys.

The little boys, on the other hand, make their small bows and arrows with which they entertain themselves, learning to shoot or even to kill birds and fish.

*[192] Out of a light and soft wood, poo-gõ, molongó (it is the ambelância grandíflora, Hub., of the family of the Apocynaceae), they build tiny canoes which they let loose on the water, tied to a string, accompanying them from the bank while they float.

They have still other toys and diversions that follow one another during the year. Among them one that is known in the south of Brazil as "cama de gato" /cat's bed/. That is, with a string, with the two ends /208/ connected, they execute figures with the fingers of both hands, passing it to the neighbor, who, with a different position of the fingers, makes it take another shape. We have seen eight or ten different figures formed with the string, some quite interesting and similar to the object or *[192] animal whose name they bear. This game is called mĩ-pesé (that is, game of taking).

A word here about some amusements of the children. The children, always respecting the separation of the sexes, join together in bands and entertain themselves in play in which the bees buzzing in search of flowers figure; it is the game of the

/294 cont./

*192 302 386 • 824

4th. --. The paintings are done with the color:

a) black obtained from the leaves of a plant called dyá-wé, known as jenipapo /genipap/, or from the shrub called we'é. From the decoction of the leaves of the jenipapo left in the open air there is produced a dark lotion which they use to color the hair when it is getting white. From the husk of the pod of the ingá laterifólia, they extract, also by maceration, a black color used for the designs on the stools.

/295/ b) The color red from the Õnõñá or carajurú /carajura/ (51)

51. Carajurú (or crajurú, as Gonçalves Dias writes -- Relatório da Província do Amazonas, I, p. 766), also known as piranga or parirí, is a climber of the family of the Bignoniaceae (the Bignonia chica of Humboldt or arrabidaea chica of Verlot). From the dried leaves left in maceration for some days is deposited a red powder, insoluble in water, which is kept in calabashes and mixed with oil or hot resin when they want to paint. The painting with carajurú evidently has a magic character. Thus, it figures in the rite of the puberty initiation, and the pajé uses it to paint his own body and his objects when he is called to attend to some patient. They admit that, when "blown" by the pajé, the carajurú acquires an extraordinary prophylactic virtue; for this reason they use it to paint, with small circumferences, the face of the newly born children, and, afterwards, when a name is given to them and whenever there is sickness or fear of sickness.

[881] [755] [756] [852]

and from the Mõ'sã or urucú (52).

52. The urucú (the bixa orellana or arbórea, Hub., of the family of the Bixaceae) is used, says Koch G. (Z. I. 448), with saliva, oil, or plant's milk; it is not as resistant as the color from the carajurú and fades in the light.

/364 cont./

789 They put seeds of certain plants inside the shotgun, in
[224] order to attract game. The eggs of fish, on the hook, have
[226] similar efficacy.

They believe in the magic efficacy of certain potions
*[192] which are called oxkó ("puçanga" in the Língua Geral). Some are prepared by the pajé or kõmũ; others, by any individual. There are puçangas for washing the parí and the cacurí, and to guarantee them abundant fish.

The powders for the preparation of the puçangas are kept inside certain nuts, like the tucumã (bextá) and the ucuqui (puxpyá).

[514] They show a particular aversion toward human excrement (75):

> 75. We have observed that, in practice, the toilet is that part of the landing place that is less deep, where they customarily take their bath. Since they are already immersed in the water, the personal cleaning is facilitated.

for this reason they do not mow that part of the povoado that serves as toilet.

[832] The women prepare a puçanga and give it to the young men to drink, in order to attract them for amorous purposes.

During the new moon the mothers give tea from a plant
789 called tá:-dõxká (in Nheengatú peri-pirioca; cyperus piperioca)
• 824 to the children to drink; and the child "comes to know every-
*[192] thing," that is, will be intelligent.

There are many varieties of this plant, all endowed with magic virtues:

[241] 1st. -- The woman grates the root from one of them, or rubs it in her hands, before going to the clearing; and thus the mandioca will yield very well.

/364 cont./

789 2nd. -- Another variety is rubbed on the fishing line in
• 824 order to attract the tucunaré (bu'ú) and aracú (bo'tʃa) fish.
*[192]
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[832] 3rd. -- With a third variety the young woman rubs the face, hands, and breasts, in order to attract young men to her.

The first time they wear a new pair of pants, it must be on top of others already old.

789 In relation to the atmospheric phenomena, there are many
291 practices and prescriptions:

821 1st. -- One must not point at the rainbow with the finger; if one does so, the finger will rot.

/365/ 2nd. -- When there is a lunar eclipse, and while the phenomenon lasts, everyone will set to work very noisily; the man will split firewood, the woman will noisily clean her house, etc.; the purpose of these noises, as Wallace has already revealed, is to chase away wãx-tĩ, whom they believe to be killing the moon.

3rd. -- When the new moon appears, the children do gymnastics, open the legs, stretch the arms, etc. They say that they do so in order to grow.

They set themselves to blowing toward the sky, in order to drive away the storms or the rain.

When the women do not want to work in the clearing, they beat on the ears with the open hand, for the purpose of calling the rain.

789 c) Animals. If the serẽ'rõ (Uaupés sene'nõ) (a small wood-
825 pecker) sings while they are planting, they say that the clear-
*[192] ing will be very luxuriant: "serẽ'rõ uukã, kõmã-ro a'tʃrõsa (when the woodpecker sings, summer will come).

They throw into the river the snakes that they kill; to bury them would attract other snakes.

When they find a young bird without feathers from the wings up, they believe this is because it saw the curupira.

/367 cont./

824 [192] In order to make marupiara, mõ'sɪgõ, for their own child, soon after the giving of the name, they start giving it to drink, at each new moon, the infusion of the leaves of some plants, such as the bará, perí-pirioca, and of a variety of Araceae (with smaller leaves than those of the taioba). The same result is obtained by rubbing the hands with such leaves on the same occasion of the new moon.

824 843 [192] [515] There is a plant called kã'rá pũrĩ (Uaupés kã'ná pũnĩ), the leaves of which have a long peduncle and are used to dry the hands, as we do with a towel. When the wife is in the period of gestation, neither she nor her husband may eat the small black fruit of this plant, because the child will be born with a long neck. Both will likewise be careful during the pregnancy to cut off the apex of these leaves that they might use. If they do not do this, the child will be born with long hair over the face along the ears.

576 The young men and women, when they meet outside the maloca, turn their backs and say insults to each other (79).

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79. Even the boys and girls of the Mission schools exchange insults when they meet in groups on walks. For example, they were heard to say: -- You are lazy girls! And they retaliate: -- You dirty your clothes (the girls also help to wash the clothes of the boarding-school boys of the Mission).

They spit to the side when they pass near someone with whom they are not sympathetic.

582 /368/ If those of the same tribe marry one another they will not have children (80)!

[797]

80. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita (Colombia, Papurí River) promoted two marriages of Pirá-tapúya couples, and they were fecund, giving birth to healthy children. In spite of this, they did not lose their own belief.

[178]

/430 cont./

553 There further appears in this rite a woman with the function of
[608] Pax-koá, which they translate for us as Madrinha /Godmother/.
[302] The child is left to its own devices, amusing itself inside the
[824] maloca, but at intervals its pax-koá pours over it abundantly a
black dye, prepared with the plant ve'é, letting it run down over
[273] the head and body of the baby. The Komũã and all those present
help themselves in a profusion of the drink (caxirí) prepared for
this event and which is also given to the child.

[115] Later we learned what Stradelli had written about the giving
[178] of the name, and we read it to Dorotéia Brito, who confirmed
that everything takes place still today just as it was written by
that author at the end of the last century. For this reason we
transcribe what one reads in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-Português
in the entry Mucera (p. 537):

"That of giving the name is one of the charming native ceremonies, which I have witnessed more than once. The giving of the name is done /431/ when the child who is to receive it has already started to talk and already walks by itself -- between two and three years of age. On the appointed day the neighbors all gather from early morning, soon after the morning bath, in the house of the parents. The pagé, the father of the child, and the oldest one of the relatives, who have taken a bath earlier, have been shut up since before sunrise in a special compartment
[276] prepared ad hoc, at the end opposite the entrance. Each one has in his hand a cuia of carajurú /carajura/ of the light, and in the ground, amidst the three of them, is thrust the ceremonial cigar. Those who arrive sit down on seats arranged in such a way as to leave in the center, between the front door and the back door, a free and unobstructed passage. The women go to the kitchen.
[782] The three who are shut up in the small room, after each of them has filled his cheeks with smoke, soon after sunrise blow over the cuias of carajuru in all directions, invoking by their names the mothers of the things that live in the sky, in the waters, and on the land to come and pay attention to the name which the child is about to receive, in order to protect him and accompany him

/475 cont./

614 825 flight, which tends to become lower and lower. When it wants to cross a river, it goes up one of the highest trees on the bank, so they assure us, and from there starts its flight, which little by little loses height, and sometimes, on the rivers that are too wide, they do not manage to reach the other bank. It was observed that the Tukano Indians, seeing a tucano /toucan/ fly over the river Uaupés at one of the widest points, uttered cries, as though of apprehension, in fear that the bird might not succeed in reaching the opposite bank.

They are only traces that at most might lead one to infer an earlier social form of totemic clan, if they are not elements acquired by borrowing (the instinct of imitation of the Indians is so remarkable) from other groups. One does not note, however, any attention (respect, fear, pleasure) toward the animal or plant whose name they bear; names, besides, without economic importance (except the Baniva or another one), contrary to what happens as a rule in connection with the totemic names. [824]

It has not been noted that they avoid killing it or, on the contrary, try to eat it in some special circumstances. If they find it dead, /476/ no sign of surprise. It is certain that at times they kill it in order to use its feathers in the dance ornaments. But, at least in the present form (112),

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> 112. We so often insist on the idea that these are present customs. This is because it becomes difficult or impossible to verify how they proceeded in other times. And the Indians respond to our questions: -- "It has always been this way."

the ornaments are the same for the various tribes, be they called Tukano, Arara, Tuyuka, Pirá-tapuya, etc. It can even be asserted that their attitude is one of perfect indifference before the animal with their own name, more or less just as before any other animal.

614 619 There are no tucano /toucan/, pica-pau /woodpecker/, juritĩ /dove/, etc. clans, either. They are and they are considered nations or different tribes, each one with its own language and peculiar somatic features. It is true that one and the same tribe is subdivided into groups with names that might seem clanlike (cf. IV-2-a(2) /see a(3)/). But they indeed are not the animals that appear

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The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire river can be traversed downstream in two days and upstream in four.

The Vaupés, the main stream, is a mighty river, also swift, rocky, and guarded by cataracts than can be perilously "shot" in high water and portaged at other times. It is a deep river with distant banks, in places resembling a sea.

During the two "dry" seasons, *ihíbo* (October–December, February and March), the Indian communities are perched on high banks, in many places clayey and sources of ceramic clay. Access is difficult; the steep, often slippery slopes are hard to manage unless the people have troubled to provide wooden steps or a handrail. At the height of the June, or great, rains, the flood reaches to the clearing, and the river is brought close. A community with its plantations is then an island, the low-lying country a vast lake.

The Cubeo are more pleased with low water than with high. High water, to be sure, does not threaten cultivations, which are always on high ground, and flooding facilitates river travel, yielding shorter routes over ordinarily sinuous turnings of the river. But the seasons of high water (*ildkoro*) (May–August and January) bring relative scarcity even though bitter manioc is an unfailing crop. Fish and game are then most difficult to catch. At the bottom of low water, fish are scarce but game, drawn to the dwindling streams, is now abundant. The peak seasons, when game and fish are both abundant, are after the beginning of the rains, when the rivers are filling in November, and at the conclusion of the rains in July, when the rivers have begun to fall off. The Cubeo render *ihíbo* as summer and *ildkoro* as winter. They also refer to seasons as *kwaino* (falling river) and as *eddwaiya* (growing river).

Thus, while the Cubeo normally do not experience famine or, for that matter, serious deprivation at any season, the periods of glut are short, one falling roughly between October and December, and the other a minor dry season between February and April. During these seasons fish need only be scooped out of the drying streams, game – tapir, peccary, deer, capybara, and paca – crowds the river banks, and the manioc yield is at its peak. These are favorable seasons for ceremony – initiation into the ancestral cult, fish dances, deer dances, mourning rites, and the most frequent round of drinking parties.[1] The seasons, however, lack abruptness. The rains increase and then decrease. Neither economic nor ceremonial life need be precisely geared to a season.

While the Cubeo are a true riverine people, knowledgeable about

[1] The year is reckoned from the dry season, since this is the time when manioc gardens are extended or new clearings started.

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every turn and landmark of the waterways, their utilization of forest products is also extensive. From the forest they derive mainly raw materials for construction: woods, fibers, and leaves for roof thatching; and some food produce: wild fruits and berries, ants and grubs. Forest foods are supplementary and minor contributions to the diet. In a sense, game are riverine too because they are hunted along water courses. Only occasionally do hunters enter the forests on foot. They prefer to go by canoe, entering the smaller *caños* to catch animals as they come to drink. Hunting is important; the flesh of game animals – the tapir in particular – is highly appreciated and never fails to add a festive note to a meal. On balance, however, it is fish and other water creatures that furnish the main source of animal protein to the diet.

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Fishing is the daily masculine routine; hunting is spasmodic, undertaken according to circumstance, as when someone has observed a herd of wild peccary or fresh tapir dung. As a break in the monotony of everyday work, and when the appetite has become jaded with fish, a hunting party is an enlivening experience.

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The Indians do not complain about the corner of nature they occupy. They recognize and accept periodicity, times of glut and times of scarcity. Abundance is pleasing to them and scarcity does not alarm them. They expect it to pass. The Indians believe that they are living now in a "golden age." In the past, before they had learned farming and all the techniques of hunting and fishing, they were always on the verge of starvation and lived on tree saps and bark, their traditions say.

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Once, while gathering roots, according to one tradition, they came upon the *aũnhokũ* (manioc) tree, a tree that had leaves of the manioc plant. Manioc tubers fell from it. They had never encountered such a tree and did not know what to do with it. Agouti (*Bwũ*) came along eating. An old man asked him what he was eating and Agouti replied he was eating manioc. The manioc at that time had no skin. The tree grew in a clearing with no growth around it. It was guarded by many animals. The old man thought, "What are we going to do?" Then along came *Húbũkokũ* (a rodent), and he told the people to clear a *chagra* and to plant. "Now, let us cut down the tree," he told them. The old man made a *chagra* and the people cut down the tree with stone axes and puño teeth. When the tree had fallen, all the animals came to eat. The old man then saw that one branch held plantains, another sugar cane, another *turú* (poison), another *pudjũ* (a potato-like tuber), and another *yapíka* (sweet potato). They then cut off each limb and planted it.

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342 move in. The walls and the two great doors that can be swung up are built long after the house is fully occupied.

283 824 Much of a man's spare time is devoted to preparing string of one sort or another — fishline, hammock strings, binding ropes. The most common material is from the miriti palm. The palm leaf is boiled in water and allowed to soak until long, strong fibers can be drawn from it. These fibers have extraordinary tensile strength and, therefore, have wide use among the Indians. The lower and thicker part of the leaf is slit with a knife or broken by hand to expose the fibers, which are then stripped off in one smooth, continuous motion. The man holds the leaf pinned to the ground with his great toe and pulls [462] the fibers upward. Essentially it is men's work but women and children help in pulling out the fibers. After the fibers have been allowed to dry by exposure to the air, several are joined together and rolled on the thigh into a string. Occasionally a woman helps her husband roll fishline. The end of the string is gripped between the great toe and its adjacent member and allowed to pass under the frontal arch of the foot and so is held firm. Rolling twine is leisurely work. Men rarely make more than they need for a particular pur- [314] pose. Fishline is coated with resin. This will not only strengthen it and make it easier to handle, but, the men told me, the resin darkens the line so that it will not be seen by the fish.

463 The Cubeo have no true category of specialist. That is to say, they expect all adults to possess the skills for making all ordinary household articles that are on the roster of sib manufactures. They must, of course, contend with differences in aptitude. They do so by giving the inept the fullest technical help, either by advice, or, if necessary, by virtually making the article. But even when total aid is given, the object is considered to have been made by its owner with help.

463 622 Items of public use, and these include ceremonial equipment and musical instruments, require special proficiency and are made by the headman and by aspirants to the office. The headman then is a specialist, but his specialty is in esoteric objects for public use.

TRADE

439 The entire Northwest Amazon area is a vastly complex trading network. Objects of every description, household implements, ornaments, musical instruments, ceremonial objects, plants, pets, and magical substances are in constant circulation from tribe to tribe, from sib to sib. Indians who are in contact with the trading centers of Colombians and Brazilians are often middlemen, pumping manu-

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The *Bahúkiwa* headman also had had two wives. In his case the second and younger wife succeeded in displacing the older woman. The younger woman insisted that her husband give up sexual relations with his first wife. She bothered him so much that he yielded and told his first wife to leave him. She refused, insisting that she would stay on with her children. An old woman now, she has a grandmother role. A son not yet married has provided her with a small manioc garden. Her relations with the headman and her successor are cool but not unpleasant. That women regard polygyny as contrary to their interests is further indicated by the fact that they are reputed to possess an herb (*pedidya*) which, mixed into a husband's porridge, causes him to lose interest in acquiring a second wife.

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Polyandry is rare. I knew of only one case, a man who took his brother into his ménage because the man had been unable to get a wife on his own. This occurred in a small Satellite community and seems to have been an accommodation to what might otherwise have been a troublesome situation of adultery. The woman fed both men and was a sexual partner of the junior husband only when her first husband was away.

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Common marital difficulties have their counterpart in Cubeo folklore, as these tales reveal. *Kúwai* the culture hero and his two brothers shared the same woman. When one brother was away fishing or hunting, the other two took turns copulating with her. *Kúwai* plotted to get rid of his brothers so that he would have exclusive possession of her. They were then living at Urania on the Vaupés by a lake called *Marúkuwari* [Lake of the marúku monkey]. In this lake grew a great miriti palm. *Kúwai* asked his brothers to climb the tree to fetch a ball of miriti to make a hammock. Both brothers climbed the tree, after warning *Kúwai* not to start anything. As they climbed, *Kúwai* caused the tree to grow higher and higher and the lake to grow wider. When they reached the top, *Kúwai* cut down the tree. Then a great wind blew up and swept the men and the tree away. One brother was blown to the Cuduiarí, where he formed the river. The other was blown to the Querarí, where he formed the other river. As each man fell, his legs formed the mouth of the river, his outstretched arms two creeks, and his head a whirlpool. *Kúwai* then returned to his wife, who was now living alone. Later *Kúwai*, walking in the forest, passed a *wahóknkũ* tree. Each time he passed it, it made a sucking sound at him. This happened day after day. Then it seemed to *Kúwai* that the tree was human, so he cut it down and carved a woman out of its trunk. *Konéko*, a bird, came and opened up the woman's vagina. The

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tion seemed natural enough to the *Behúkiwa*. It is not an exclusive sib cult.

The ancestor instruments lay nearby in a secret place on the river bank, upstream from the maloca, dressed in ceremonial dance feathers (*máṗena*) because, as the Indians said, "our ancestors love to dance." (When the trumpets are removed the *máṗena* is laid aside). The party first fetched the instruments so that the ancestors might accompany them on berry picking. Intermittently during the morning those of us at the maloca could hear the horns, at times sounding near and then trailing into the distance. The party returned in the late afternoon. The women at their chores near the river bank paused to listen to the low, mournful notes of the oncoming horns. A shot from the canoe was a warning signal that sent the women running for the house, laughing and shrieking at one another to hurry.

The canoe came into sight, low in the water with its heavy burden of berries neatly packaged in baskets of loosely plaited palm fronds. The youngsters were paddling and their escorts played the horns, swinging them from side to side to sound in all directions. Now the women, who had gathered at the rear door of the maloca, ran off together to the manioc gardens, their traditional sanctuary, those in the lead calling to the laggards to hurry.

The river was low and the canoe could not be seen except from the very edge of the high bank. No one, except the ethnographer, came to look. The party unloaded the berries. They bathed, and having bound fresh sprays of fragrant leaves over their buttocks, ascended the steep path. At the top of the bank the men formed themselves two abreast and marched upon the house sounding the horns, the youngsters trailing after them. Only three pairs of the traditional five were used, *Bwũ*, *Onpwénda kũdjũwe*, and *Onpwénda*.

The men sounding the horns, as embodiments of the ancestors, assumed a stern and almost menacing manner. This unaccustomed countenance seemed to frighten the boys and they were visibly nervous. The men were not at this moment concerned with the boys, but with bringing the ancestors and their powers into the house. They marched upon the house in the familiar dance step of a long measure and a pause, two long measures and a pause, and then three quick steps. At the pause, the six players swayed and swung their instruments in a high wide arc before them, the two *Bwũ* horns in the lead, followed by *Onpwénda kũdjũwe* and *Onpwénda*.

The ancestors did not enter the house immediately but paused at the front plaza. No man came out of the house, not because it was taboo but as a courtesy.

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peated three times. The ceremony concluded with a chant of the origin traditions.

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The men say that in the "old days" whippings were terrifying. One man narrated that when he was a boy he was held by two men in a horizontal position face down. One man held his ankles and another gripped him under the armpits. A third man whipped him at the loins. As each blow struck he was allowed to drop to the ground. This was done three times and not only twice as now. The man added, however, that he was fortunate, because the man holding his armpits was his father, who did not allow him to drop but only dipped him downward. "I have always loved my father for that," he said. Another man said that when he was a boy one man held him by the ankles with his face a few inches from the ground and he was whipped from this position but was not allowed to drop. The point of these two methods, the men said, was that the boy was stretched so that he would grow. Nowadays the boy merely stretches his arms overhead. After the young have been whipped the senior initiator challenges any man to come forward and whip him to test his fortitude. They use a special whip tipped with shell beads. In the course of the night they take turns in whipping one another. Men who think they might involuntarily flinch do not step forward so as not to discredit themselves before the ancestors.

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I never observed the ordeal of the stinging ants, common in the region. Informants said that they sometimes asked a boy to put his arm into a calabash of red stinging ants and to allow the creatures to crawl up his arm and sting him. This, they explained, was merely a test of fortitude and had nothing to do with powers acquired from the ancestors.

789 856 [515] [534] [824] [515]

Growth magic imparted by the Ancients continues all through adolescence up to the time of marriage. I have already mentioned bathing with the ancestor horns. Such bathing is most effective during the summer season, and lapses during the winter. A supplementary form of growth magic that is not connected with the Ancients is to soap oneself with the suds from certain plants. Certain emetics also favor growth. A youth who has begun to use growth magic seriously shows almost immediately a marked change in personal qualities. Even if he has not yet broken away from the play pack his bearing has become more manly. He spends more time at fishing and he begins to join hunting parties. He adopts the more somber masculine countenance and walks with a more energetic tread. In one particular case of a boy who had seemed rather backward the transformation was abrupt.

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different significances in different tribes. The Central Amazon is one center of distribution of ceremonial masks and the Northwest Amazon region is another. In the former region, masks are not of bark cloth but of palm leaves that cover the entire body. The headpieces with human features are cylindrical and of wood. According to Cubeo tradition, they, too, once used palm-leaf masks before being taught by *Kúwai* to prepare bark cloth. Karl von den Steinen, who collected many dance masks from the Xingú River region, never saw them used and guessed that they were mainly ornamental. As among the Cubeo, the Xingú region masks represent animals, beasts, and fish (Steinen, 1894). Along the Araguaia, a tributary of the Amazon, ceremonial masks seem to be part of a secret men's cult and, of particular interest to a Cubeo comparison, they are also used in funeral rites (Krause, 1910, p. 109; Lehmann, 1911). In both parts of the Central Amazon, the Xingú and the Araguaia, the dance songs that are associated with the masks are similar to those of the Cubeo and may have been brought there by Arawakan-speaking peoples who still live there. In the Vaupés River region all the Arawakan tribes share the masked dance cult with Tucanoans. However, among Tucanoan tribes, Uanana and Desana do not have them (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, II, 64).

To the west of the Cubeo, in northeast Peru for example, masked dances are, surprisingly, not found among the Tucanoan-speaking peoples but rather among the Witotoans, such as the so-called Witoto proper, the Bora, and the Muinave. In this same region the Yagua, the Okaina, and the Tucuna, all of whom speak as yet unidentified languages, also have bark-cloth masks (Tessmann, 1930). The nature of their masked dances is similar enough to those of the Cubeo to leave very little doubt that they are historically connected. The masks of these tribes represent animals and demons, as among the Cubeo, and are similarly decorated. However, nowhere in this region are bark-cloth masks used in connection with mourning rites. The Tucuna use masks in girls' puberty rites, while among the Bora masked dances accompany the harvest festival of the pupunha palm. This is a point of historical interest, since the Cubeo mourning ceremony is held during the season when the pupunha palm is ripened and has other "harvest rite" motifs. Because information on masked dances in the Amazon area is so limited, no firm conjecture can be made as to their place of origin. It would seem, though, that the Cubeo have taken ceremonies that in other tribes pertain to harvest festivals, secret men's cults, or girls' first menstrual rites, and have adapted them to funeral rites. Simi-

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sumed and at that moment the victim dies. The Arawakan tribes in the region call him *Makálu* and regard him as the chief of the masked dancers. The *abúhuwa*, of which there are several types, are grotesque forest ogres, a menace to the hunter whom they lead astray, tease, or kill, and the bogy man of the children. It was not my impression that the *abúhuwa* were deeply feared. They represent, rather, a caricature of human fears. The dung beetles (*kerutamówa*) are literally devourers and cleansers of decay. They are, as Koch-Grünberg observed, good spirits and guardians against dangers. The carrion vulture (*kavá*) is simply a literal representation. The aracú represent the ordinary world that is neither good nor bad.

The masked dances (*wahómu*: bark-cloth tree) are mimetic, each illustrating some distinctive gesture or movement of the being represented. The songs, on the other hand, are not readily translatable, but many do mention the name of the being. As for the masks themselves, they are recognizable either specifically or at least by class by such distinctive design motifs as wings, fish scales, feathers, and jaguar spots, as well as by characteristic features of over-all design. The intent is clearly to represent the being with some directness.

The jaguar masks have a design of yellow spots outlined in black and in red that covers the entire surface including the facepiece. In some masks the spots are distributed evenly and in others they are divided into fields. The jaguar sleeves are made of a coarse brown bark cloth that seems to be associated in the Cubeo mind, judging by how they use it, with more violent feelings, a point I shall deal with later. The jaguar dancers carry a jug whistle upon which they produce the deep *hoo hoo hoo* sound of the angry beast. The whistle is a short length of ambauva palm set into a pottery dish made expressly for the purpose. The pot is enveloped in brown bark thongs that cross the opening, where they are fastened to the whistle, thus allowing the instrument to be held with one hand. The entire pot is hung with bark fringes. The dancers move as a pair, sometimes holding hands and sometimes separately. As all dancers do, the Jaguars begin with a slow, stately walk, and then move into their characteristic movement. Legs held close, they spring forward and then back, sounding their booming *hoo*'s during the walking intervals. They follow a circular movement in either direction. The Jaguars have an important role in stirring the assembly, particularly the women, to the desired state of frenzy. They are almost always on the floor. They begin wild and are capable of increasingly more violent actions. The Jaguars are always men in their physical prime. At some time during the ceremonies all the mature and vigorous men will have

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775 Koch-Grünberg had described to him in 1903 (1909, II, 152). I ob-
266 served the *Hehénewa* headman, with the older men of the sib around
114 him, pounding bones in a mortar and adding the substance to an urn of chicha. When they saw me they angrily ordered me away. Later, informants denied knowledge of what they may have been doing. Koch-Grünberg, however, was told by the *Hehénewa* headman that the limb bones of someone who had died some 15 years earlier were cooked for about a month, reduced to ash, and then added to a special corn chicha which was then taken by all old men and women and by parents of more than three children. I did not observe the drinking of this chicha, nor did I hear of the custom during my stay among the *Bahúkiwa*.

765 Finally, the younger men of the sib burn dry capsicum peppers in
● 824 the maloca to drive away the ghost of the recently deceased. There-
783 after, the deceased is to be forgotten and his name not mentioned for
775 at least another generation.

MASK REPRESENTATIONS IN THE *ÓYNE*

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Anthropomorphic Beings or Demons

1.	*Makuko*	(K-G)[a]	A bearded dwarf, represented by husband and wife. They lure hunters from their game and pantomime shooting a bark-cloth monkey with a blowgun.
2.	*Kohako*	(K-G)	Husband and wife giants who carry clubs and strike down hunters with them.
3.	*Hailako*	(K-G)	A giant who carries two heavy clubs, one in each hand.
4.	*Palutziko*	(K-G)	A giant.
5.	*Anauako*	(K-G)	A giant.
6.	*Abúhuwa*	(K-G;IG)[b]	Forest demons.
7.	*Hokoaboxoko*	(K-G)	Giant tree demons.

[a] Reported by Koch-Grünberg.
[b] Personal observations by the author.

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fine powder and mixed in several large conches (vats made of hollow trees) of caxiri; this is drunk by the assembled company till all is finished; they believe that thus the virtues of the deceased will be transmitted to the drinkers" (Wallace, 1871, p. 498).

Endocannibalism has also been reported by Coudreau, who has observed that the Tucanos and Tarianas no longer follow this practice, which he attributed only to the Cubeo. "Ce ne sont plus aujourd'hui les Tarianas et les Tucanos qui boivent la cendre de leurs morts, comme le disait Wallace. Ce sont les seuls Cobbéwa. Les gens de cette peuplade enterrent leurs morts; puis, quand les chairs sont pourries, ils lavent les os, les dessèchent, les brûlent, les pilent et, dans les dabururis, mêlent cette poudre, précieusement conservée, au cachiri avec lequel ils boivent, en s'enivrant, les cendres des leurs ancêtres dont ils s'incorporent ainsi toute l'energie. Cette étrange boisson leur procure des délices extatiques ou furieux" (Coudreau, 1886-87, II, 173).

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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775 form. "Since they did not care for people," the Cubeo say, "they cannot live among the souls of people after death." Those who have committed incest or have eaten a forbidden fish called *namúri* have souls after death in the form of the *baumíko*, a bird that is feared greatly.

The ghost is called *dekókũ* (dream man) or *pudnkũ dekókũ* (dream man person).[3] The distinction between *umé* and *dekókũ* is not precise. That is, when the Cubeo speak of the death of a person they will say that the *umé* leaves and the souls take on human form, and add that the *umé* may return to the house and disturb people. Having begun to speak of *umé*, they follow it into its ghostly phase. On the other hand, it is when the narration begins with the spirits of the dead that they will use the term *dekókũ*.

The Cubeo have no dread of the spirits of the dead. The spirits depart and live their own life under their own headman. Beliefs on the nature of the afterlife are not uniform among the Cubeo, however. The most common view is that the spirits of the dead of the same phratry live together, all in one great phratry house under a headman. Women, however, occupy a vague place in the afterlife, wives staying with their husbands. The women spirits, however, lack their full economic function, since in the afterlife spirits live by hunting and gathering but not by farming. The dead do constitute a nuisance. [824] [789] Shortly after death the ghost returns to the house hoping to entice a sibmate to go with him, but he is easily dispatched by burning capsicum. The grave, in the house, is no hallowed place, and shortly after the earth has been packed in place the children play over it. When people encounter a place on the river where the spirits of the dead can be heard they do not hurry on but pause to listen. The spirits of the dead will never be encountered at high noon, the zenith, so to speak, of the secular part of the day. The spirits of the dead hunt only at night. They eat butterflies, grubs, and all snakes including the founding anaconda. Significantly, they do not drink chicha. The Cubeo do not say why, but it would seem that they have visualized an afterlife that is lacking in the essences of life, that is to say, the ingredients that the Cubeo associate with vital intensity. The spirits of the dead also lack manioc. There is some debate among the Indians as to whether the dead live in a house; they lack ceremonial life and sib autonomy. Literally, then, the Cubeo visualize a shadow existence after death.

The spirits of the dead remain bound to the phratric system. All

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[3] *Deko* is the stem in the verb "to cause to disappear."

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[775] insects, not to mention the jaguar in the case of a true *yavi*. The insect
[825] spirits that arrive to fall into the pot are *tatdrako* (butterfly), *utdwe* (firefly), *henohenöri* (bee), and *utcikü* (wasp).

[828] The common shamanistic form of killing is *düwai*. The shaman usually kills when the victim is asleep. The death takes place in a dream and such a death is known as *dekübaiwu* (dream death). There are other forms of professional shamanistic killing. Blowing in the house is one. If the shaman blows his breath and tobacco smoke in the same manner as in curing, but within the house, then someone [755] in the house will sicken and may die. For this reason curing takes place on the plaza. Yet having explained this, my informant added that more important was intent. A shaman could treat someone within the house and his blowing would cause no harm if he did not want it to. Boiling nail cuttings from fingers or toes in a capsicum pepper broth kills by a similar principle but with less attention to painful detail than in the previously described method of killing a sorcerer or poisoner. The shaman prepares this brew deep in the woods where he cannot be seen. He must, however, have been able to [534] obtain the cuttings from his intended victim. Finally, a shaman has a stone bull-roarer. As he whirls it the victim suffers as if struck with a machete.

682 The Indians claim to use a number of plant poisons which go by
278 the *lingoa geral* term *marakimbára*, and in Tucanoan by the term
824 for "illness," *ihé*. *Turú* is a leaf cultivated as a poison. The leaf is shredded and the fibers made up into a small packet that is dipped into a calabash of chicha until the infusion is strong. If the *turú* is used fresh it kills quickly and if allowed to dry for five days or so it produces only illness, the symptoms of which are diarrhea and excretion of blood. *Turú* is administered at a drinking party shortly after midnight. All in the house are implicated in *turú* poisoning since only the victim must drink the fatal chicha.

278 *Koné noneduwiye* is a cultivated leafy plant similar to *turú* but
•824 one that produces a fatty exudation, and is intended to poison by
754 entering the body through the urethra. At a drinking party the poi-
782 soner waits for his victim to leave the house to urinate. He then secretly places the substance on the urine. Symptoms of pain in the groin and in the genitals accompanied by a discharge of pus occur within three months and are fatal.

278 *Yapibü kowaiye* (poison for swelling the abdomen) is another culti-
824 vated plant from which an infusion is put into chicha or porridge.
682 Symptoms occur after a year and are fatal. For ten days the victim has
[241] fever and pain in his limbs. These symptoms subside and return.

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When the rains come the abdomen swells. After days of steady rain the swollen abdomen bursts.

Yokaíhye (leaf poison) is reputed to be so poisonous a leaf that it is never touched with the bare hand. The leaf is boiled in water and allowed to dry. Its powder is wrapped in a leafy bag and dipped in any liquid to form an infusion. Some of this liquid spilled on the victim leaves a black spot that quickly disappears. Shortly thereafter the victim dies.

Pothâiye is a berry poison. Its extract is put in chicha or at the end of a stick if it is to be poked up the victim's nose when he is asleep. It causes a slow death by wasting.

Dyóka is a forest plant that kills only children but will sicken adults. A moist packet is allowed to drip over the forehead of the sleeping victim. There is said to be a remedy for this.

There are many other *ihé* products that were not identified to me by name. Some, from the end of a stick, are inserted into the nostrils of a sleeper. People who specialize in this are night wanderers called *parébõhe abúhuwa* (very powerful *abúhuwa*). They can see in the dark and are difficult to observe. They lack specific motive for their deeds and may be regarded as male witches. It is these witches who are tortured by having their flesh torn with fishhooks – one tear for each victim – when they are caught.

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Another *ihé* product is *pend*, an ash that comes from a secret site

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Fig. 13. Petroglyph: *Kómi* playing the ancestral trumpet, Alligator (*Pedíkwa aíb*).

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754 278 824 682 at the Isana River. This is so potent that only the smallest amount will kill. The poisoner carries it under the fingernail of his index finger held in place with pitch. He may flick it into a calabash of chicha or drop it on a stool, where it will enter the anus of a victim and kill him within a month. The symptoms are headache, fever, stomach cramps, constipation, and wasting. The following tale accounts for the origin of *penâ*. There was a drinking party on the Isana River and the people were dancing with *Bekûpwänwa*. Suddenly *Kómi*, a short, fat man, flew into the house on two sticks. He caught a little boy and ate him alive and then another. The people became angry and tried to beat *Kómi* to death with clubs. He said to them, "If you shed my blood you will all die quickly. If you kill me in the house you will all die quickly." *Kómi* told them to take him to a creek called *Manánkanihye*, where they were to build a fire and throw him in. They did this and *Kómi* was reduced to ashes. Every bird and insect that flew near the fire fell into it and was burned. When the fire cooled, a little boy took some bone ash, although his father had warned him not to touch it, and dropped some at the canoe landing. An old man passed over it and immediately fell sick, then another. They tried it on animals and saw it was a good "poison." It comes to the Cuduiarí from Arawakan Indians by way of the Querarí.

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278 824 Curare (*himâ*) is known as a powerful poison that may be used only in war and not as a secret potion.

751 As far from effective prophylactic against all poisons that may be administered at drinking parties and other group gatherings, the people wear as pendants packets made of a leaf called *hutcûdü*, that gives a certain amount of protection against sorcery and poisoning.

75 776 789 771 The attitude of the Cubeo that human malevolence is difficult if not impossible to guard against must be contrasted with their optimism when it comes to dealing with nonhuman spirit beings. Thus, it will be recalled how the spells and "blowing" against the spirits that threaten the newborn infant can be safely entrusted to any sib elder; he need not possess special powers, only the knowledge. The technique of "blowing" has, oddly enough, full magical efficacy in the hands of the layman but is altogether uncertain when used by a medicine man. The point, of course, is that the layman uses simple magic against a manageable nonhuman adversary, whereas the medicine man is called in to pit himself against a formidable human adversary. The human adversary is formidable in Cubeo eyes for two reasons: it acts out of directed passion and it is devious. The nonhuman spirit world, by contrast, is stirred up to a generalized anger.

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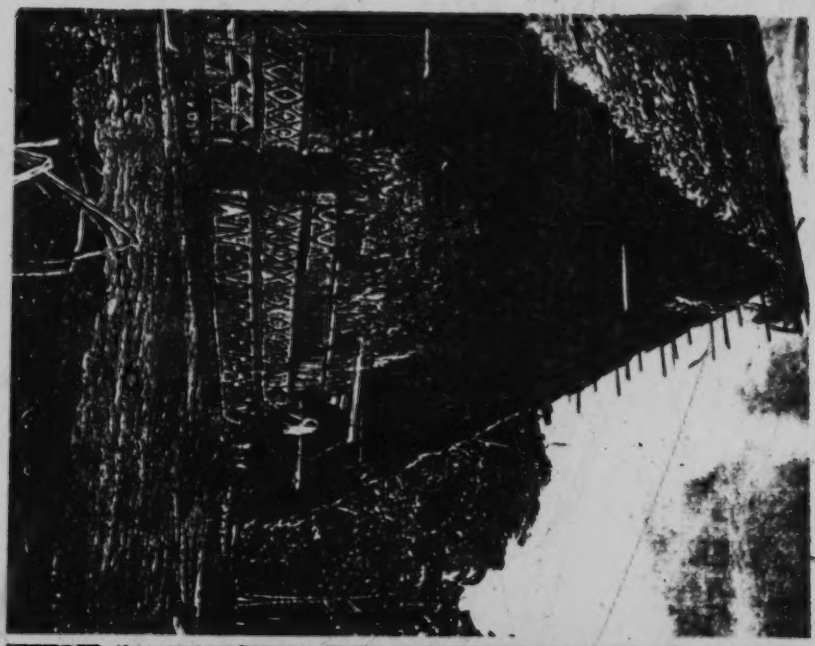

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LEFT: The front, painted with a design in charcoal and clay, and great eaves of a maloca. RIGHT: Cutting palm fronds to thatch the roof.